



EL SALVADOR

LIBRE

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Duarte Regime in Crisis As FMLN Pursues Peace

SALPRESS

"...AND MOST OF ALL, DEAR Santa, bring us peace and a good Christmas..."

If Salvadorean children were "writing Santa" this year, undoubtedly this would be their most-repeated request. And it echoes the many voices of the small country raised to urge a political solution to the five-year-old war.

Since May 22, 1981, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), and its political wing, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), have made 12 offers to the Salvadorean regime to hold talks for peace. The first ray of light came with President José Napoleón Duarte's response in the form of a sudden offer to start the dialogue in La Palma (Oct. 15), and the insurgents' immediate acceptance. The light sputtered perhaps with the second round of talks at Ayagualo (Nov. 30) but it did not go out.

As a product of the Ayagualo talks, the FMLN liberated 42 soldiers taken prisoners in action on December 1. Monsignor Arturo Rivera y Damas said that this action is "an important event toward the humanization of the war," and this

step taken by the FMLN-FDR, "contributes to strengthen the dialogue between the government and guerrillas." On the same day, the insurgents declared a unilateral truce for the holiday season "to allow the soldiers and non-commissioned officers to spend some time with their relatives and the Salvadorean people to enjoy the year-end festivities."

On December 13, the Salvadorean regime broke its official silence about this offer when Julio Adolfo Rey Predes, spokesman for the presidency, said that this truce offered by the FMLN-FDR coincided with the government's proposal.

Nevertheless, the High Command of the Salvadorean Armed Forces declared on Dec. 19, that they would not accept the truce and that they will continue their actions as programmed to the end of the year. "Our large scale operations were programmed six months ago and we won't let the terrorists impose conditions on us; nor will we accede to their will," said an official declaration. "The country needs order and vigilance and that is what we will continue to provide."

This reflects some of the deep contradictions faced by Duarte's regime. The consequences of the Armed Forces communiqué are dangerous for both the



government and for peace, considering that Duarte rejected the last five-point proposal presented by the insurgency in Ayagualo, partly in an attempt to pacify the military.

The rejected proposal calls for a "government based on national consensus, and reorganization of the armed institutions to include members of both the government forces and the guerrillas." It calls as well for "a first stage in which both sides will engage in political activities designed to re-establish national sovereignty and to find solutions of their own; and for free and authentic elections with the participation of all the country's political organizations."

At the same time, the insurgents called for "the dissolution of death squads, trials for those guilty of crimes against the people, the abolition of torture, an end to kidnappings and disappearances, the lifting of the state of siege, and the annulment of repressive decrees that go against

the people's interest."

Duarte's rejection of this proposal didn't soften the armed forces' decision to try for a military victory over the guerrillas. The Army High Command's attitude shows how far peace still is from Salvadorean homes.

The military's declaration puts Duarte in an embarrassing position and shows his incapacity to govern the country. His problems are not only with the military, they are political as well. At year's end Duarte vetoed a bill that prohibited his relatives' candidacy in the coming municipal elections of March 17. Among those relatives is the Mayor of San Salvador, Alejandro Duarte, son of the president.

In related news, the Salvadorean Bishops in their Christmas greeting to the people called on all the social sectors of the country to work together to achieve a permanent and definite peace.

Continued on page 3

Solidarity

Cross-Country Actions Call for Regional Peace

CANADIAN CHRISTIANS JOINED members of the Archbishop Oscar Romero Committee in a week long prayer and fast for peace in Central America from December 16 to 23. The vigil was in recognition of the painful struggle of the men and women in El Salvador and in support of all those working to achieve peace.

The Winnipeg Christian community also held a series of services with the participation of the Anglican, Lutheran, Orthodox, United and Roman Catholic churches to display their support for the people of Central America.

In Prince Edward Island, the Central America Information Group (CAIG), plans another fast on January 20 and 21, coinciding with Reagan's inauguration, to protest US intervention in Central America. This activity is to be sponsored by the Coalition Against US Intervention in Central America.

In Toronto, 50 organizations endorsed an Anti-Intervention Action Conference

which took place December 8 to establish a coalition against "US Intervention and Canadian Complicity" in Central America and the Caribbean.

The proposal presented at the conference reported that since 1832 "US armed forces have been sent to Central America and the Caribbean more than 60 times to topple governments, suppress popular movements and install regimes that support US business interests".

More than 140 people attended the conference and agreed to hold a week of activities against US intervention from April 13 to 20. These actions will end with a march and rally in Toronto April 20.

In Red Deer, Alberta, the Farabundo Martí Committee held a public meeting to inform the community about life in the zones controlled by the FMLN-FDR under the newly elected local popular governments (PPL). Similar events took place in Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal.

One of eight walk-a-thons held simultaneously in eight Prince Edward Island cities in October, 1984. Proceeds went to the nutrition project of Chalatenango, El Salvador.



Editorial

ASTEL Workers Asking for Canadian Solidarity

TWO DAYS BEFORE CHRISTMAS, the telecommunication workers of Colonia Roma in San Salvador worried about an imminent intervention by the National Police.

Members of the telecommunication Workers Union (ASTEL) resumed a strike on December 19 to pressure the Duarte government to respect the salary increase agreement signed with the management last May.

On December 23, an individual said to be a maintenance man was allowed into the Roma telecommunications building by the National Police, who have surrounded the office since the beginning of the strike.

The telecommunication workers became suspicious of this man and decided to search him. It was found out that he was a member of the National Police carrying "subversive propaganda" to justify an intervention by the security forces.

The ASTEL workers initiated the strike on Dec. 4 and went back to work on Dec. 9 after the management made promises to consider their demands. Instead of complying with the May agreement, management presented a new proposal with much lower salary increases for the average workers and with raises ten times higher for the administrative personnel.

Asked an executive member of ASTEL during an interview with ESL from San Salvador, "Why is Duarte talking about democracy

when workers on a legal strike are being threatened with being fired or arrested?

The case of ASTEL is not unique. Rather it is typical of the way the Salvadorean government responds to workers' demands. President Duarte is not even able to satisfy the most basic requests from government workers because of exorbitant expenditures on the counter-insurgency war.

During 1984, more than 200,000 workers, mostly government employees, went on strike protesting massive layoffs, low salaries and a 40 per cent unemployment rate.

Among the 360 political prisoners still detained in the Mariona Penitentiary, are many trade unionists who have been in prison since 1980. The increasing support by the Canadian labour movement toward Salvadorean workers will undoubtedly have a positive effect on improving their situation and encourage better treatment for unionists in prison.

Recently Don Lee of the Ontario Federation of Labour visited El Salvador. He will give an updated report in January on the situation confronted by Salvadorean workers (see calendar of events).

At publication time, the National Police still keeps a tight security watch on the strikers in Colonia Roma. Telegrams in support of ASTEL, directed to President Duarte in El Salvador, can still help avoid the intervention by the security forces. •

El Salvador Libre

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Chilean People Protest Pinochet's Policies

BY WILSON RUIZ

SANTIAGO, CHILE. — *BY 5 IN THE* afternoon downtown Santiago, the Chilean capital city of 4 million people, was deserted. But the rancid smell of hundreds of tear gas bombs, tossed by the police to break up the latest round of street demonstrations against the military rule of General Augusto Pinochet, still hung in the air.

The demonstrations, called by a coalition of opposition forces, began right on time — at noon. Along Huerfanos Street, the city's main thoroughfare, small groups of demonstrators suddenly clapped their hands while chanting, "y va a caer..." "he's going to fall..."

The chant predicting the fall of General Pinochet was all the police needed to hear before charging with swinging truncheons and tear gas. The demonstrators would then quickly disperse, only to gather a few blocks away to begin chanting again.

These "blitzkriegs" mini-demonstrations in the downtown area lingered on until 5:00 p.m. when the action shifted to the shantytowns in the outskirts of the capital.

The police arrived in the town of Pudahuel at 6 in the afternoon. "There were no demonstrations or barricades here," Father Hernan San Martin said.

The parish priest of Pudahuel explained that the police had come to this shantytown to regroup and meet one of the helicopters which the authorities were using that afternoon as mobile command posts.

"As soon as the helicopter landed, the people panicked and started running. At that time the police opened fire," Father San Martin said. "For almost 10 minutes the town's main square was under a rain of bullets. Only when I ran out of the church to help a wounded man waving a white handkerchief, the police quit firing."

Manuel Rodriguez, 14, Elena Farias, 85, and Erika Sandoval, 15, lay dead in the streets of Pudahuel before the police retreated by 7:00 p.m.

At about the same hour, outside a one story house at 1430 Borgono Street in downtown Santiago, a large group of women held a vigil. They stood behind a huge banner which read, "Aqui Se Tor-

tura" ("This Place is used for Torture.")

Since Gen. Pinochet came to power after a bloody military coup in 1973, Chile has remained in a perpetual state of emergency. Provision 24 of the state of emergency provides for detentions without charge of up to 20 days, in a place other than a prison, of persons suspected of being hostile to the military government.

The women outside 1430 Borgono Street said that this inoffensive looking house was in fact what police call "a place other than a prison."

"More than 155 political detainees have passed through this clandestine jail in the last year," one woman explained.

Amnesty International has received detailed testimonies from people who said they had been tortured while under police detention at 1430 Borgono Street.

Mariana Rojas is one of the former detainees who has sent their testimonies to Amnesty International. The 24 year old university student is a volunteer in Catholic church community work in Santiago. Mariana said she was arrested the morning of February 27 by some plainclothes agents who did not identify themselves. "I was then taken to 1430 Borgono Street."

In this house used by Chile's secret police, the Central Nacional de Informaciones (CNI), Mariana said she was slapped, punched, beaten with a blunt instrument and electrically tortured.

"What scared me the most was the blindfolding, the lack of sleep, the uncertainty of not knowing what was going to happen," Mariana Rojas said.

At 7:45 p.m. Mariana and the group of women holding the vigil on Borgono Street started to disperse. At 8 a curfew was imposed in Santiago, and busloads of policemen fully equipped with riot gear patrolled the almost deserted city.

Along the quiet streets a few worried looking people rushed to the safety of their homes. The only sounds in the night were sporadic heavy dynamite explosions. More than 20 bombs blast were heard that night in Santiago.

The next morning, an underground guerrilla group called Frente Patriotico Manuel Rodriguez claimed responsibility for the explosions. Meanwhile, the state of emergency continued and plans for future demonstrations were already being discussed by the opposition forces.

Analysis of Peace Negotiations So Far

THE FOLLOWING IS AN INTERVIEW with Carlos Alberto, a member of the Relations and International Solidarity Commission of the FDR-FMLN which is based in Mexico City. Alberto is on an international tour to explain the negotiation process.

ESL: What is the current state of negotiations between the FDR-FMLN and the Duarte government?

Alberto: The FDR-FMLN has proposed a time and place for the third set of talks with the government. Hopefully the dialogue will continue in January, but Duarte has not yet agreed to a date. At the last meeting in Ayagualo we proposed that a national forum representing the church, peasant groups, the university, professional groups, the private sector and the business community be established so all the different forces in El Salvador can present their positions regarding negotiations. Such a forum would encourage the various groups inside the country to participate in building our future. It would function along with the two-sided dialogue between the Duarte government and the FDR-FMLN and work to expell American influence in the negotiations, allowing the people of El Salvador to control their own affairs.

We do not feel a solution can be reached just with the participation of the insurgent forces on the one side and Duarte's government on the other. The meeting in La Palma was mostly a

romantic meeting which generated a lot of expectations, but not the type where practical solutions could be addressed. The second meeting in Ayagualo was more realistic. But we feel a national forum must be established if the dialogue is going to work.

ESL: What specifically does the FDR-FMLN want from the upcoming dialogue?

Alberto: We want an official response from the government on our November 30 proposal. The joint commission which is studying our proposition has said it is unconstitutional and we want to know why they came to that conclusion. Our proposal is with the present constitutional framework. It called in part for a national consensus government. This would have 3 compo-

November 30. The regime hasn't responded to any of these demands so far.

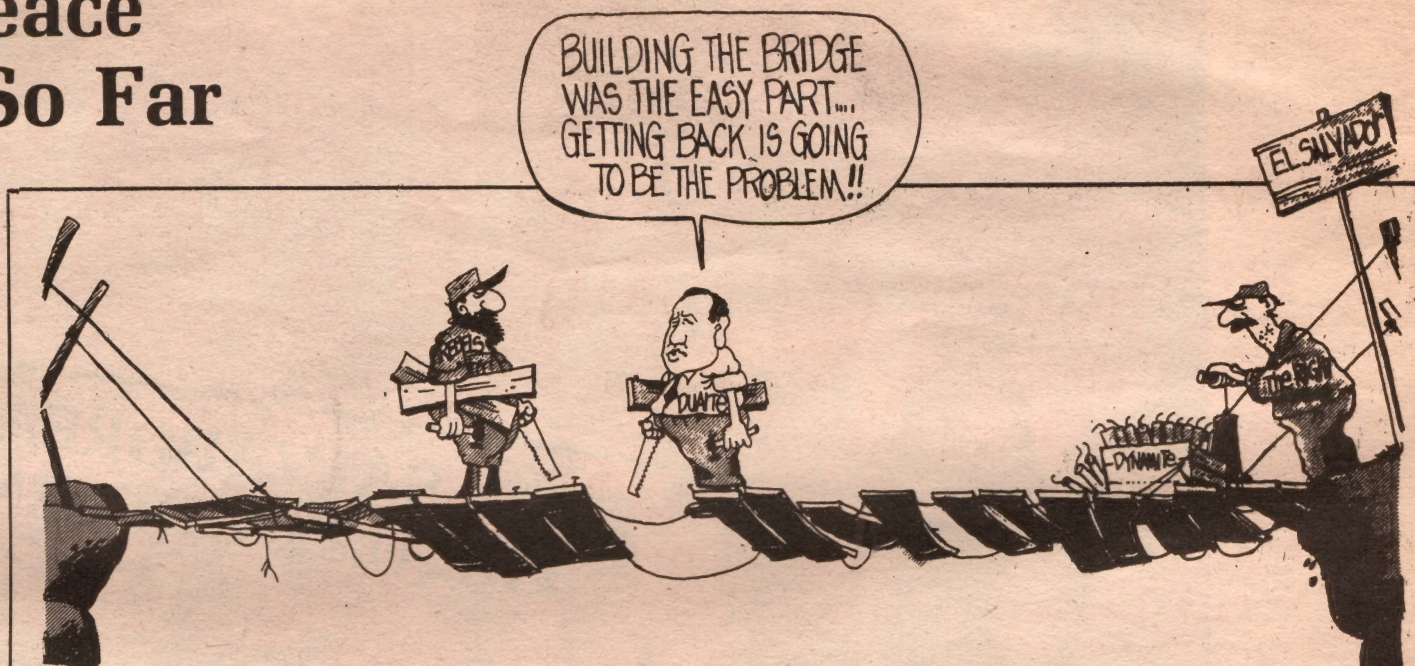
As 1984 enters archives and history books, the insurgents have renewed their plea for a political settlement to the conflict. In a press conference on December 20, the president of the Democratic Revolutionary Front, Guillermo Manuel Ungo, declared that the insurgency "reaffirms its will to continue the dialogue and to end the conflict."

Ungo emphasized the importance of the UN General Assembly's ratifying a resolution about the conditions on human rights in El Salvador (Dec. 14). He stressed that the resolution "calls on the parties in conflict to continue the dialogue." The president of the FDR also remarked that the document of the UN calls for "a halt to the foreign military aid" in the internal conflict.

In relation with the Armed Forces' rejection of the truce declared by the insurgency Ungo said, "The civilian sector of the government is under severe pressure from the political, economic and military right." He said that the FMLN-FDR thinks there are sectors in the Armed Forces that want dialogue, but "they are, at the moment, on the defensive... We have to take into consideration how the hand of the Reagan Administration is functioning... The government of USA is an involved party in our conflict and cannot be considered as a mediator."

In the same conference, Hector Oqueli Coindres, member of the Diplomatic-Political Commission of the FMLN-FDR said, "the government never has handed over to us prisoners of war. This practice has been unilateral on our part as a way of humanizing the conflict."

There are advances, but the position of the Salvadorean government as a whole indicates that the peace Salvadorean children long for has to wait for next Christmas.



nents: the integration of the armed forces with the popular army, free elections and the re-writing of the constitution.

ESL: Would the FDR-FMLN ever consider sitting as an opposition party in the current government?

Alberto: No.

ESL: Is President Duarte sufficiently in control of El Salvador to implement any form of solution that might come from the negotiations?

Alberto: He is the president, but no, he doesn't have the power. It's a shared power. We have the oligarchy — the 14 families — and they have a very well coordinated share of power with the North Americans. There are also the armed forces which have not agreed to continue with the negotiations, neither has the private sector. The four parties on the extreme right have formed a block opposing the negotiations. So Duarte is at the top and is in fact legitimizing the counter-subversive campaign in El Salvador, but he came a little late. But you can see why we need to set up a national forum to assure the success of the negotiations.

ESL: What is the US role in the negotiations?

Alberto: The American hand is hidden but very active. Before Duarte presented his motion for negotiations at the United Nations, the Salvadorean foreign minister went to the US to talk with Shultz and Kirkpatrick. The thing is that Duarte can talk on behalf of a government which he represents, and Magana, the previous president in El Salvador, didn't have the mandate which Duarte supposedly has. For the Americans, the negotiations allow the US presence in El Salvador and pressure on the Duarte government to increase. In the last UN meeting the Americans were very upset because the subject of human rights violations in El

Salvador kept coming up, because what they are trying to do is get the Salvadorean government out of the international isolation it has had for the last few years. Although the American hand is hidden they are using the negotiations as a double-edged knife. On the one hand the negotiations allow them to continue creating conditions for military intervention, which is still a possibility, and on the other hand they can say they are protecting democracy. Therefore they are supporting the negotiations.

ESL: If the FDR-FMLN is doing as well militarily as it asserts why did the organization initiate the negotiations?

Alberto: Because dialogue is not tied to military successes on the field. The dialogue is an expression of the political will of the FDR-FMLN to look for a peaceful solution. Our military activity is proof that we are a force within El Salvador to be reckoned with to solve the deep problems the country faces. We are the party in El Salvador which does not accept that the fascist and oligarchic powers should continue to be in charge of the country. But we do not want to engage in warfare all of our lives. Our best efforts should be directed to rebuilding the country, but to build you first need a base.

ESL: What is the timetable for future negotiations?

Alberto: Well what is clear is that sometime in January we will initiate the third round of talks. The dialogue will keep going as long as both sides have a positive strategy to make it continue. We are determined to keep the process going, but we are concerned with the government's tendency to keep pulling away from this dialogue. We called for a truce over the Christmas season and the government said no, we will not recognize it and we will continue to attack you. We feel this is a very dangerous answer to our proposal.

FMLN Pursues Peace Continued from Page 1

In their document, the Episcopal Conference of El Salvador said that the national Catholic Church has always opposed violence, armamentism and foreign intervention in the country's affairs.

Going beyond speaking of dialogue, the Church demanded to be present in the talks for peace by nominating Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas as mediator between the parties in conflict. At the same time, the Roman Catholic Church has asked the government to effect the truce decreed by the insurgents "to allow the civilian population to enjoy the festivities of Christmas and New Year."

However, peace remains distant. On December 17, an ultraright-wing group, self-named the Traditional Catholic Movement, threatened Salvadorean Bishops for supporting the dialogue and the insurgents' truce. "They want only to intimidate our bishops," commented Marianella Garcia Villa, a member of the Committee of Relatives of Political Prisoners and Disappeared of El Salvador.

Compounding Duarte's problems, different sectors of the Salvadorean population are increasing their demands. The Human Rights Commission of El Salvador recently demanded that the government put a stop to the repression and both committees of relatives of political prisoners and disappeared persons presented a bill to the Legislative Assembly for the freeing of all political prisoners. (Not one Honorable Member would accept to receive and formally present the bill.)

At the same time, they declared that on December 21 the members of both committees will sit in front of the penitentiaries for the 27th time in support of their demands as well as the demands of the prisoners who began a hunger strike on

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On the Road

EL SALVADOREAN REFUGEES IN THE U.S. AND CENTRAL AMERICA

Most Refugees in U.S. Face Deportation

BY MARC COOPER

THAT INSCRIPTION ON THE STATUE of Liberty that says something about giving us your huddled, exploited masses has come to mean just about nothing for those fleeing regimes 'friendly' to Washington. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), along with the State Department, has instituted a political asylum policy that seems based on a piece of Maoist dogma. Some time before the Great Helmsman expired he was widely quoted, in his own little red book, saying 'My enemy's enemy is my enemy.' To see that the U.S. government is strictly applying this axiom in regard to political refugees it is only necessary to consider the following items.:

- When more than 100,000 Cubans flooded into Miami five years ago they were granted 'extended voluntary departure status' by INS. That means that until the State Department takes Cuba off a select list of 'unfriendly' countries, Cubans can reside and work in the United States without having to prove they, as individuals, are subject to persecution in their homeland.

- Last August, one Vladimir Moraru, a Romanian sports photographer sent to cover the Summer Games in Los Angeles, walked into the local INS office and asked for political asylum. INS officials concede that his request was granted from Washington, by telephone, even though Moraru has no record of political activity, was sent to the U.S. by the very government he seeks refuge from, and even though he fears no negative consequences for his wife and five-month-old child that he left behind in Bucharest.

- Six South African political dissidents, however, who holed up in the British Embassy in October and asked for safe refuge in the United States were flatly denied asylum by the State Department. A U.S. government spokesperson said there was no evidence that the six faced any persecution for their political beliefs. He seemed to not notice South African government vows that the six would be prosecuted for 'sedition' if they ever left the embassy. The real hangup, of course, is that unlike Romania or Cuba, the apartheid regime in South Africa is considered to be one of our friends. And if we started accepting the fact that our friends just might persecute a few people here and there, then our whole world view would unravel.

This glaring double standard is even more pronounced in the case of thirty-year-old Salvadorean economist Alberto Arene. A former member of the pro-Washington Christian Democratic Party, Arene, back in 1979-80 served as a cabinet member in the ruling Salvadorean junta. Along with many others he quickly became disillusioned with the junta, quit it and his party and joined the opposition Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR). Soon Arene became the target of an assassination attempt, his family's house was broken into by National Police, and as the conflict between the FDR and the government evolved into the shooting war that it is today, Arene fled his homeland and took up residence in Washington. He became the official spokesperson in the U.S. for the rebel FDR-FMLN coalition, and his name soon appeared on a death list published by the Salvadorean army in 1981. His request for political asylum would seem to be a cinch. But remember, fleeing from a 'friendly' government is not part of the game. Such it is, then, that Arene has had his request for asylum denied by the INS on recommendation by the State Department and he is currently facing deportation hearings.

It's only logical that there be an identifiable mechanism that discriminates so openly against refugees like Arene. And recent probings by the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) have, in fact, uncovered that device. In a sworn deposition taken from State Department officer Jules Bassin by the ACLU and made available to this reporter, we learn just why almost all Salvadorean requests for asylum are turned down. Bassin is the State Department official in charge of processing requests for political asylum from Salvadorean refugees. But he told the ACLU, under oath, that he has no knowledge of political violence or death squads in El Salvador, no knowledge of what happens to Salvadoreans after they are deported from the United States, and that he relies principally on other State Department officers for keeping abreast of events in El Salvador.

Bassin has worked since 1980 in the State Department's Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian (sic) Affairs where his main responsibility is to review

requests from Latin Americans seeking political asylum in the United States and then make a recommendation to the immigration service if such a request should be granted. Bassin claims to see as many as 8,000 cases a year, 'the vast majority of them Salvadoreans!'

When asked under oath to describe what materials he uses to determine the validity of the applicants' claims they are subjected to political violence, Bassin replied, 'I look at telegrams, I look at reports, I will look at reports, ... newspapers, magazines. I will talk with people.'

When asked to clarify what sort of reports he looks at, Bassin said they were all of State Department origin. But when pressed by ACLU attorney Mark Rosenbaum to be more specific about the nature and frequency of those reports, Bassin was ambiguous.

Rosenbaum: The weekly reports of violence, do you see those, the weekly report of violence?

Bassin: I do not remember seeing any recently, which means they haven't come in, or maybe I didn't get the distribution, or maybe if I saw it — I just don't remember.

Rosenbaum: You don't recall seeing either weekly or monthly reports for some period of time; is that right?

Bassin: Right.

Bassin also says he reads *Newsweek* and *Time* 'from time to time' to learn more about El Salvador, as well as a number of State Department 'booklets, reports and brochures,' that he referred to as 'handouts'. But he says he has never read a book on El Salvador. In his testimony Bassin out-Reaganned Reagan by claiming he has no knowledge of death squads.

Rosenbaum: Do you know if anyone else in El Salvador is responsible for political violence besides the military and the guerrillas?

Bassin: I don't know. Well, I see references to 'death squads' but I don't know.

Rosenbaum: You are not really versed in that subject, is that right?

Bassin: No.

Rosenbaum: When you say you see reports, where do you see those reports?

Bassin: Reports about what?

Rosenbaum: The death squad, you used the phrase.

Bassin: Oh, the death squad?

Rosenbaum: Yes.

Bassin: Well, I think the last certification by Mr. Shultz in July made reference to death squads.

Rosenbaum: But do you have any specific knowledge about that?

Bassin: No.

Rosenbaum: Do you have any information about the activities of the death squads?

Bassin: No.

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Repatriation Plan Launched for Refugees

SALPRESS — MONTREAL

THE US AND SALVADOREAN governments are carrying out plans involving the "repatriation" of the Salvadorean refugees to gather international support for the Duarte regime, according to a November report by the Work Committee for Central American Refugees (COTRAC).

Nearly one million Salvadoreans, a fifth of the population, have been forced to leave the country since 1979 because of government repression.

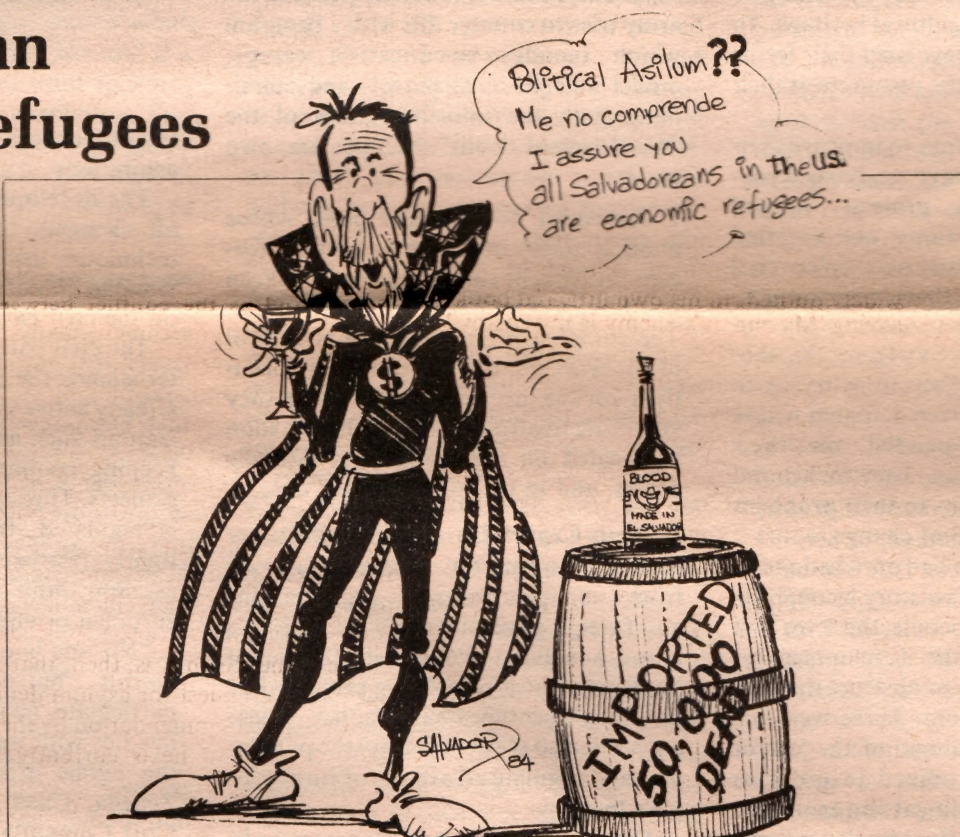
The repatriation plan was presented last month in San José, Costa Rica by the Intergovernmental Commission on Migration (ICM) to representatives of the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Council of Voluntary Agencies.

The repatriation plan consists of establishing a reception office at the San Salvador airport for Salvadoreans returning to their country. ICM would provide the refugees with temporary documents and "welcome them back to El Salvador".

For US and Canadian observers, this plan is linked to a current US operation to round up as many undocumented Salvadoreans as possible to send them back to El Salvador. It would also provide Washington with a justification for a massive deportation of Salvadoreans who lack all the necessary documents.

For the churches which have provided sanctuary to Central American refugees fleeing from dictatorial regimes, such a plan is a major setback. The Reagan Administration has considered these church groups a potential opposition force to its foreign policy on Central America.

The plan also contemplates the repatriation of 18,000 Salvadorean refugees who are now in Honduras. It is in the interest of the US military strategy to remove the refugees from the border zone to allow unimpeded access to El Salvador from the Honduran border.



The Salvadorean refugees in Honduras rejected the repatriation plan in a letter directed to the international community and printed in the November publication of COTRAC. The refugees stated their opposition to the plans because the war is not over in El Salvador and the "bombings and massacres of workers have not stopped". The refugees recall that Duarte was at the helm of the Salvadorean government when Monsignor Oscar A. Romero and the four American sisters were assassinated in 1980.

The fears of the refugees were reinforced by recent reports of death squad activities and army attacks on civilians in Chalatenango and Morazan. On August 29, hundreds of peasants were encircled where the Sumpul and Gualsinga Rivers meet in Chalatenango province. The army opened fire on the crowd killing 50 people. Another 50 were taken away by helicopter and 53 others crossed the border into Honduras on Sept. 13. Since the August massacre until Oct. 15, the day when the La Palma meeting took place, 460 peasants became refugees in Honduras.

The Archbishop of San Salvador and

members of the Lutheran Church have also expressed their opposition to the US sponsored repatriation plan saying it could lead to the establishment of more army controlled camps inside El Salvador.

A return of the Salvadorean refugees could follow the Guatemalan model of the "strategic hamlets". In Guatemala Indian communities are organized into villages which receive "protection" from the army, the people provide the work and fundamentalist sects provide food along with US values aimed to defeat the Guatemalan guerrilla movement.

So far Pentagon strategists have not been able to achieve a major military victory over the FMLN-FDR forces in El Salvador. The repatriation plan, it seems, is an ambitious counter-insurgency plan to gain time for the Duarte regime.

As far as the Salvadorean refugees are concerned, they will have to fight a tough battle to stop the repatriation plan. "We will accept repatriation," said the letter from Honduras. "When the war is over, when there is a true peace and when we can return to our provinces, to our homes and not where Duarte wants us to go". •

Latin America

GUATEMALA: Counter-Insurgency Used to Control the People

FROM THE POLICIES OF FORCED labour by the colonial government in the sixteenth century to the "development polls" in 1984, Guatemalans have experienced continuously increasing control over the population and the natural resources of their country.

From the fierce battles to defend their communities in the face of the Spanish invasion, through periods which saw strong resistance movements and subsequent exile, to the armed opposition of today, the Guatemalan people have constantly struggled to win their liberation.

Insurgency and conterinsurgency is the history of the Guatemalan people.

For more than four centuries the Guatemalans have attempted to regain their right to exist as a free people, and to develop their communities according to the richness of their cultural heritage. To achieve this people have used their fertile imagination and all the resources at their disposal.

In the search for ways to improve their lives, Guatemalans have established economic development projects, formed grass-roots organizations, and resorted to peaceful marches and non-violent civil disobedience. After these endeavors to improve their lives were met with uncompromisingly repressive violence, the people concluded that they were trying to liberate themselves from a system whose very existence depended on their continued exploitation. They recognized that effective solutions to their problems demanded fundamental change.

And for those who had enriched themselves throughout this history by oppressing the Guatemalan people, these years of struggle prompted the development of more efficient tactics to obstruct the people's drive for freedom. These were the years when the technique of the 'carrot and the stick' was refined in order to thwart the social, political and economic emancipation of the Guatemalan people.

At first, the dominators thought that the freedom struggle was dependent upon its leaders, so the grass-roots leaders were kidnapped and the key leaders were murdered. Then they thought that by "drying up the water to destroy the fish", that is, by massacring the civilian population they could destroy the liberation struggle. The oppressors believed that by burning the houses, fields and tools, they could force the people to submit to absolute domination.

Moreover, recognizing the social and economic causes of the insurrection, they served up a plan for "civic action". This plan was known as "Beans and Bullets" or "Roof, Work and Tortilla". The Guatemalan army provides the "security", the people provide the work, and the food is provided by government agencies as well as by non-governmental entities, such as fundamentalist sects. These sects, launched from the United States, also play the role of sanctifying the actions of the army and of introducing an ideological framework and cultural values from their country of origin.

The army proponents of the "civic action" programs refuse to recognize that they cannot fool the survivors of the mas-

sacres with such transparent programs, whose obvious goal is to dominate the people totally. General Frederick Woerner, a combat veteran from Vietnam who headed the US civic action advisory staff in Guatemala from 1966 to 1968, continues on active service in Central America. As commander of the 193rd infantry brigade based at Fort Clayton, Panama, General Woerner is a prime architect of US strategy in El Salvador. "Civic action", he stated, "is a military weapon against counterinsurgency. I wish I could say that our main concern is improving nutrition or getting a better water system to the people. These are only by-products. The security of the country is our mission".

While the people maintain clarity and support for the revolutionary process, the army tries to counter this with a program which includes re-education camps, model villages, civil patrols and culminates with the implementation of the "development polls". There are two types:

1. Industrial development polls, whose publicly-stated objective is to attract foreign investment capital, essential to keep the ailing Guatemalan economy afloat. The complementary objective is control of the workers, thereby providing 'incentives' for the investors whose capital they are trying to attract. These polls will soon be located on the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, and in the oil-producing zone.

2. Agro-Export Development Polls are designed to attract humanitarian aid from non-governmental organizations and foreign governments. This project is aimed at solving the critical situation of hunger and lack of housing provoked by the army's scorched-earth policy. These polls will also serve to control the population and regulate all aspects of rural people's lives.

The concept of the development polls reflect the accumulation of experience in controlling populations gleaned from previous projects such as: the cotton plantations in the southern United States, whose foundation was slave labor, the Indian tribal reservations controlled by the United States and Canadian governments and the forced labor camps in Hitler's Germany. The development polls also profit from the lessons learned by the US army's program of 'strategic hamlets' in Vietnam. In addition, through its experience of waging war for over 20 years against an insurgent population, the Guatemalan army and their US, Israeli and Taiwanese advisors have learned new combat and control techniques.

With the development polls, the ruling circles in Guatemala hope to achieve a high degree of economic, political, military and ideological control which serves the interests of the multinational investors, as well as their own. While the fruits of this policy benefit the local elite, Guatemalan national autonomy suffers as a result of significant penetration by foreign controlling interests. The Guatemalan people continue to eat the same bitter fruit: the historical frustration of their



social, economic, political and cultural aspirations.

The development polls bring together all elements of the counterinsurgency techniques developed by previous Guatemalan military regimes drawing heavily on the civil patrols.

The civil patrols were created to counterbalance the grass-roots organizations already active in the communities, organizations such as bible study groups, beekeeping cooperatives and sheep-raising projects. Through the patrols, civilian life is regulated, freedom of movement is tightly restricted and the right to free assembly and association are severely curtailed or eliminated.

"No one is obligated to join the civil patrols... but if someone does refuse to participate, he is investigated to see if he has ties with those groups which disturb the public order", Riboberto Ramirez Zepeda, Chief of the section in Santa Cruz Chinautla, said in the Guatemalan newspaper "Prensa Libre" November 8, 1983.

Initiated under the regime of General

Lucas Garcia in 1981, the civil patrols practice require the participation of men between the ages of 18 and 30. Recent estimates indicate that about 800,000 men participate in the patrols. In this manner the civil patrols create the impression that the army enjoys widespread support among the people, which in fact is not the case.

At the same time, the civil patrols provide cover to the army spies who formerly operated as individuals within the neighborhoods. Also, the paramilitary bands and rural 'death squads' are now incorporated into the civil patrols to perform their grisly control functions on the civilian population, and to keep tight reins on the men within the civil patrols themselves.

These counterinsurgency strategies are designed to do much more than achieve only military control over the civilian population. The full objective is to destroy a culture — the culture of Corn.

Reprinted from *Guatemalan Church Exile*.

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News



This assembly of death squad victims in El Salvador included two pregnant women and a small girl.

Canadians Attend Human Rights Commission Congress

IN A GLARING INDICTMENT OF THE Duarte regime, the independent Human Rights Commission of El Salvador (CDHES) has strongly denounced the assassination of 50,000 civilians in the last four years by the Salvadorean army and security forces. Reporting at the First Congress of Human Rights, which took place in San Salvador from the 21 to 23 of November, the CDHES also denounced the disappearance of 3,800 people.

Canadians John Hillborn of the United Church and lawyer Mary Boyce attended the Congress. In a letter to the *Globe and Mail*, Boyce reported that "...for whatever consolation it may bring, the activities of the death squads have decreased, becoming more selective" but the bombardments by the military over the civilian population have increased.

At the Congress, the Committee of

Political Prisoners of El Salvador (COPPE) documented the systematic violation of human rights by the Duarte government and demanded a stop to US military aid because "it contributes to the state of repression in that country."

The University of El Salvador, also represented at the Congress, stresses the fact that the Duarte government has given a low priority to education because of the \$1.5 million dollars a day being spent in the counter-insurgency war.

Sources of Tutela Legal, an office of the Catholic Archdiocese of San Salvador, denounced the killing of 79 civilians in the period from the 7 to the 13 of December. The report says that 70 civilians were killed by the army in military operations across the country, five by death squads and four by unidentified sources.

Archbishop Threatened By Rightists

THE ARCHBISHOP OF SAN SALVADOR, Arturo Rivera y Damas, reaffirmed his intentions to continue as a mediator in the peace talks between the FMLN-FDR and the Duarte government, in spite of the threats against his life made by ultra-right wing groups days before Christmas.

A new group, called Traditional Christian Committee, accused Rivera y Damas of violating the constitution by being a mediator and of allowing Marxist teaching at the Jesuit-run Central American University of San Salvador.

Days before, Rivera y Damas had praised the FMLN-FDR decision to release 43 government soldiers and the Christmas and New Year's truce, as posi-

tive steps toward the humanization of the war and as a hope to the achievement of peace in El Salvador.

U.S. Students Condemn D'Aubuisson

ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON, SPEAKING at Georgetown University, called for US overt aid to the Nicaraguan contras based in Honduras and condemned the peace talks between the FMLN-FDR and the Duarte government.

About 200 students protested the presence of D'Aubuisson who had been invited by the Young Americans for Liberty group on December 5. D'Aubuisson, believed to be the leader of the Salvadorean death squads, was later received by representatives of the Moral Majority.

Salvadorean Army Violates Christmas Truce

THE SALVADOREAN ARMED FORCES violated a Christmas truce accorded unilaterally by the Farbundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) by launching attacks against insurgent forces in Chalatenango province on December 25.

The truce was to be in effect from December 24 to December 26 and from December 31 to January 2. One day after the ceasefire was announced by the insurgents, the Duarte government announced its decision to respect it and consider it "a positive step" by both parties.

However, the truce was not accepted by a sector of the armed forces, who disobeying the Commander in Chief José Napoleón Duarte, ordered soldiers of the Fourth Infantry Brigade to open fire against FMLN forces.

This growing contradiction between the ultra-right wing and the government led Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas to warn of the possibility of a coup d'état.

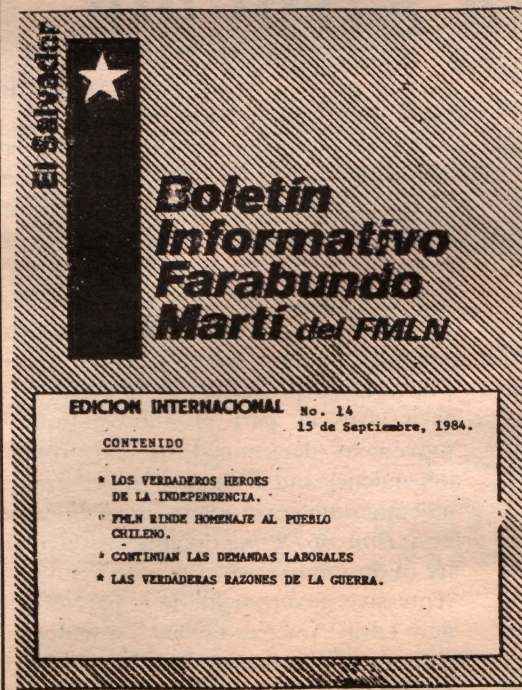
Meanwhile, the FMLN will not interfere with the free circulation of vehicles on the Christmas and New Year's holidays as accorded at the second peace talks on November 30, said Radio Farabundo Marti.



El Salvador Libre

El Salvador Libre welcomes letters with comments and suggestions about the paper's contents. Please mail them to:

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Events

Calgary

• Sat. Jan. 5, 7:30 p.m. **TIME OF DARING**. Screening at Alberta Vocational Centre. Organized by: Solidarity Front with El Salvador.

• Sat. Jan. 19, 8:00 p.m. **"THE NOW FEELING"**, a Calgary-based rock band will play at the Union Centre, 120 - 17th Ave. S.W. All proceeds go to SALVAIDE. Organized by: Farabundo Marti Solidarity Committee.

• Fri. Jan. 25, 12 noon. **VIGILS** to denounce the US military intervention in Nicaragua and El Salvador in front of US consulate will start this month. 65 McCloud Trail S.E. Organized by: Anti-intervention Coalition.

Prince Edward Island

• Sun., Mon., Jan. 20, 21. **TWO DAY FAST** to protest US intervention in Central America. Part of a cross-Canada day of protest coinciding with Reagan's inauguration. The two-day fast will take place at St. Paul's Anglican church hall, Charlottetown. Organized by: Central America Information Group with the participation of the P.E.I. Coalition Against US Intervention in Central America.

Edmonton

• Tues. Jan. 22, 12:00 p.m. **SIDEWALK DEMONSTRATION** in Solidarity with El Salvador and Central America, Abby Glenn Park, Jasper and 102nd St. 7:00 p.m. **SOLIDARITY EVENT**, Eastwood Community Hall, 11803 - 86th St. Sponsored by Farabundo Marti Solidarity Committee with the People of El Salvador, Salvadorean Organization of Edmonton, Solidarity Secretariat with El Salvador. Info: 424-4818.

Montreal

• Sat. Jan. 26, 7:30 p.m. **EVENING IN SOLIDARITY** with El Salvador with participation of Québécois and Latin American Committees. 4740 Bordeaux, Polyvalente Jeanne Mance. Donation \$4. For more information call: 277-8095. Organized by: Salvadorean Coalition of Solidarity in Montreal.

Toronto

• Sat. Jan. 5, 4:00 p.m. The CAMD-PSN invites you to celebrate its 10TH ANNIVERSARY. Songs, exchanges of view, discussion, fun, food. Ecumenical Forum, 11 Madison Ave., 1 bl. east of Spadina on Bloor. Organized by: Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network. For more information call: 535-8550.

• Wed. Jan. 16, 7:30 p.m. **REPORT ON EL SALVADOR**. Alison Acker, Professor, and Don Lee, Trade Union Consultant, report on their recent trips to El Salvador with slides and photographs. At Metro Community Church, 730 Bathurst St. Free admission. Organized by COSPES. For more information call: 654-3398.

• Tues. Jan. 22, 7:30 p.m. **CAFE SANDINO**. Music and poetry for women. Lyra Coffee House, 161 Danforth Ave., at Broadview. Organized by: Canadian Action for Nicaragua. For more information call: 531-8903.

Ottawa

• Thur. Jan. 17, 8:00 p.m. Meeting with **LORRAINE GUEY** who has just come back from El Salvador's liberated zones. Jack Purcell Community Centre, room 37. Organized to support medical aid to El Salvador.

Reviews

New Film Documents Salvadorean Struggle

A Time of Daring

El Salvador, 1984

Producer: Radio Venceremos System
40 m., color, 16 mm and video

Winner: Grand Prize for Documentary
1983, New Latin American Cinema,
Havana, Cuba.

AMONG THE CHANGES TAKING place in the FMLN control zones, the making of Salvadorean films and videos is one which dramatically conveys the two different realities existing in El Salvador.

A Time of Daring succeeds in projecting these two realities in a moving and provocative way. Scenes of the United States' Secretary of Defense arriving in San Vicente province and US military advisers training Salvadorean soldiers

give us an idea of the heavy American presence in El Salvador.

The film portrays the "other" El Salvador with scenes of a rally in the FMLN control zones and FMLN combatants in action against the Salvadorean armed forces.

Radio Venceremos System and the Salvadorean Revolutionary Film Institute, among others, have made it possible for Salvadoreans to see themselves as part of a revolutionary movement determined to end foreign dependency and dedicated to establishing a democratic government in the country.

A Time of Daring documents the reality of an impoverished people fighting a repressive government. It is part of the new Latin American cinema oriented to counter the influence of the powerful Hollywood image of Latin Americans. •

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